1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

tions. Since both threats and instructions have been analyzed, it is not necessary to discuss commanding in detail, but it should be stated that it is an extremely important method of teaching.

Providing rewards, the third general category of teaching techniques, is also employed by the Kwoma. It consists of providing a reward after a pupil has made a right response. A teacher may use this technique after he has motivated and guided the pupil, or he may use it when either the motivation or the guidance or both have been supplied by some other agency. The general category of rewarding may be subdivided into helping, giving, and praising.

Kwoma teachers take advantage of the fact that a pupil can satisfy but few of his drives, either basic or acquired, without the aid of another person or persons.[35] Being helped is thus in many cases the *sine qua non* for achieving a reward. Teachers may, therefore, employ helping as a means of rewarding the right response of a pupil. They use this technique primarily to teach the pupil coöperative habits. In other words, teachers most frequently help a pupil after the pupil has helped them. The technique of helping is thus one of the important methods of transmitting that part of the culture which makes for in-group solidarity and reciprocity.[36]

Giving is closely allied to helping as a technique of reward, being used in the same coöperative context. If a teacher gives a pupil something, it is significant as a reward because the teacher has done the work of producing or otherwise obtaining the gift, and thus relieves the pupil of the necessity of doing the same himself. Gifts in Kwoma are of food, tools, or shell money. Barter and exchange are a form of reciprocal

[35] Malinowski has shown that all cultural habits are an integral part of institutions which imply the cooperative efforts of an organized group of persons for the satisfaction of a need. See B. Malinowski, "The Group and the Individual in Functional Analysis," *The American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV (1939), no. 6, pp. 952-54.

[36] Hull has suggested a psychological basis for this in the principle of reciprocal reinforcement. C. L. Hull, "Outline of a Systematic Theory of Learning," sec. ix, *Educational Psychology Yearbook* (in press).

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

gift giving in which both parties in the transaction play simultaneously the rôles of teacher and pupil.

The work bee is a good example of how both helping and giving reinforce coöperative habits. Yat gave a bee to get a log, from which he intended to make a slit gong, dragged from his garden to the house tamberan. He and his wife gathered a surplus of sago, traded some of it for fish, and then announced that they wanted help. Wof, War, Marok, Mar, Gwiyap, Mes, and Mey, as well as several of Yat's affinal relatives, answered the call, and this group spent the morning dragging the log to the house tamberan clearing. When the task was completed, they went to Yat's house and ate the food which his wife had prepared.[37]

If Yat's helpers be thought of as the pupils, he taught them to help him by employing the technique of giving. Their drives were hunger and various appetites aroused by the anticipation of a feast; their response was coöperation in the log pulling; the cue was Yat's announcement; and their reward was the feast given by Yat. Yat thus taught people to help him by giving them a feast.

If Yat be thought of as a pupil and the others as the teachers, helping rather than giving is the technique employed. The drive was the wish to get the log to the house tamberan (based upon the prestige which Yat would gain from having contributed a slit gong to the hamlet); the response was gathering food for a feast, announcing a work bee, and coöperating in the log pulling; the cues were those which indicated that the log was properly seasoned, and that there would be enough men in the hamlet who did not have

[37] It might be objected that this case does not represent socialization since it concerns adults who have presumably already learned coöperative work habits. Such an objection can be answered in the following ways. Although the increments in reinforcement get smaller and smaller with each successive reward, there is always a strengthening of the habit with each reward. Thus a habit theoretically can never be completely learned, and the process of socialization continues throughout the life of any individual. Secondly, if a habit does not lead to reward, it becomes extinguished. Thus reward is necessary to maintain habits as well as to teach them, and the maintenance of habits is as crucial to the process of socialization as is the initial learning of them.

754 755 all the men suspected of poisoning to blow on a leaf. If the man does not do this, it is proof of his guilt. If he is the poisoner and does this, the sick person will recover.

593 [411] March 8, 1937. War went to Yelagu alone. He held one spear poised in his hand and two others cradled in his left arm. When the Yelagus saw him coming, they all ran away--women, children, etc. One old man stayed behind. He killed a dog and gave it to War and told him that he had nothing to [231] [431] do with Asenampa, that she had run away, and he did not know where she was. War told him to give him some'tambu'too, which he did, and War returned. War carries three spears with him wherever he goes.

342 March 11, 1937. I went to watch them building a bush house (to teach boys--Mar, Kumb, Mas, May, Gwiyap and Mar). It is a little way off on the road to the market on a small mountain. They used saplings for side posts; two center posts and ridge pole were cut. The roof was of marratta, but there were no sides. Spathes were split and two put on at a time. Then two were put on in other directions and all four tied.

000 March 12, 1937. Hayemakwa went to Sowinambi's again. Kumb was breaking ground. Kar was washing sago.

578 March 18, 1937. I came back from the station. Fit has returned. May says he will not fight him because his father said "i no mother pele mam". Despite this, however, says May, he would fight him if he wanted to.

754 578 March 21, 1937. Yesterday afternoon Kwelump and a large gang from Wenyembankura came by. They had been to Sowinambi's for sunga mwani. They had spears. Say came to Yet's and told him that the result of the talk of the day was that since there were no Hayemakwa present, it was they who were responsible for poison. Yet grabbed a spear (so he says) and called on Hemmoy to fight, but Hemmoy refused. He came by the house towards dark

124 against War if he makes a fuss -- to say "like bilong mari". Then Owiyap said that he should bring his two sisters up here to stay at my house so that Mas would not upset the plan. Mar said no, he was going to sell Mas one of them and take care of the other -- he repeated that I was "papa true bilong them", and I must look out for them.

584 Kar came tonight. He talked with Mar about getting Uka, and they agreed it was all right. The plan was that Mas marry Awa in return to cancel the necessity for pay.

582 After supper loud voices were heard at the house tamberan, and then Kumb shouted back and forth to Mar. He said that it was no good to marry a woman from the same sib because the blood would not be renewed, and their children would be no good. Mar said to me "Never mind Kumb, I can fight him". A little later he called out for Kumb to come up. He came [583] with Mas. They discussed the matter in a friendly way in pidgin, but I couldn't get the gist of it except that Mar would get Awa's bride price; Owiyap, Fit, Afi, and May would get Uka's.

April 16, 1937. Mar has decided to put off his affair with Uka.

123 I went down to see Latai who was reported to be sick. He had a slight [752] cold and a gash about ten inches long in the calf of his leg which was 123 almost healed. A pig had torn it with its tooth. He gave me and Owiyap 431 some areca nuts, betel nuts, bananas, greens, and breadfruit. The areca 437 nuts belonged to him, and he gave them without expecting repayment. The 276 rest were his children's or wife's, and he asked for pay. (Betel nuts are [262] either sold for a high price or given away -- other food is bartered. It seems that food is only given to relatives whereas betel is given to (exchanged by) friends. Therefore, they have a different valuation. I am always given betel by the natives without their expecting pay, but food is sold to me.

1244 bucket, so we followed them, and I washed. I came back without my shoes and sat down at Mar's. Hviye and Awe were there ahead of us; the others had gone. They stared fascinated at my feet, particularly, Awe who could
123 not keep her eyes off. She shuddered and moved away and then said they were kafweesk -- small like a woman's. She was so upset, that I put the shoes on
[514] again. Later Awe urinated by the house, making few covering gestures so I wouldn't notice with her back turned to me, squatting on her heels. Then she carried a mat bag to a bed outside and afterwards sat there.
262 The girls had cooked some large bush spiders, about an inch long, were eating them and offered me one. I tried it -- it was excellent, but I did not eat the head or teeth, as they expressed it; if eaten, it would cause sores.

576 Mar's mother kept asking who was watching my house. May was evidently anxious for me to leave. It is a breach of custom for an adult to be at
123 a house with young girls unless there is an older person about. Finally Wof called out that there were a lot of men at my house, and I left. Kis was there dressing his sore, and a boy from Bangus was there bringing
231 food. After supper, we heard wailing from Wof's house and then a burst of
431 sobbing. May was crying because Wof had speared his pig. Tomorrow Marok will carry it to Koriasi to give to their sister (Mgusaruka) who is married
[648] there. Her father was Uhwiyim. Her brother was killed by the police boys.
583 The pig is hanging up now. Tomorrow it will be cut up at Mar's. Mar's elopement was arranged for tomorrow it was reported. Way's daughters had been go-betweens, and she was willing. She brought some firewood up this afternoon to give to Mar, but Chimuwa took it, saying it was better so. Aye is going to tell her father and family that she is going fishing with Way's daughters and is to meet Mar on the road, and they will go to the